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Map. 1. Rivers of Hokkaido

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group whether obtained by adoption or by birth. In either of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys all the local groups formed a single *shine itokpa* group. But the local groups who lived in the Tokapchi valley were divided into several *shine itokpa* groups: the one in the upstream area consisted of seven local groups of Kuttarashi, Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi, Sanenkoro, Moseushi and Penke Pipaushi, another group on the middle course consisted possibly of five local groups of Kene, Memroputu, Pipairu, Fushiko and Shupusara, and perhaps one or two more *shine itokpa* groups further downstream which could not be identified.

The group had neither single authority nor common territory. The only collective action of the *shine itokpa* group, so far as identified by the present writer, was the bear ceremony (pp. 74-77). It provided the only occasion for meeting many of their relatives and friends who resided outside the local group. In normal times no group larger than the local group took part in any collective enterprise, though on rare occasions two related families from different local groups within a *shine itokpa* group might and actually did privately join to cooperate in hunting or fishing. Formal relations between local groups were rarely established, but through intermarriage (p. 17) there might have been many individual contacts between kin and affines in different local groups.

The River Group.

The river group is an aggregation of all the local groups which lived along a river as distinguished by the Ainu. It was called by the name of the river plus *un utaru*, the people in such and such a river. The river group might consist of a single *shine itokpa* group as in each of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys or consist of several *shine itokpa* groups as in the Tokapchi valley. They regarded the river basin as their own territory, claiming exclusive rights to exploit all its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders (pp. 56-57; 67-68; 77-78). Hence they were also called *shine iworo ukokoru utaru*, the people jointly possessing one and the same *iworu* of the river valley as distinguished by the Ainu. However, at least in normal times, there was no single authority controlling the group as a whole. The main bond which linked the people of a river together not only seems to have been economic interests but a deeply rooted cosmological background. There is evidence that each river as distinguished by the Ainu was associated with one or several particular *ekashi itokpa*. It was the *shine itokpa* group which had one of these aboriginal *itokpa*. Only the people having the aboriginal *itokpa* associated with the river, observing the associated ritual for local deities and living in the river valley, were regarded as the real people of the river who were entitled to be guardians of the river valley and of the deities that were believed to live there and look after them (pp. 70-71; 77-78).

the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them. 175
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6. "Basho" or District System.

The "basho" system came into being when the Matsumae clan, establishing itself as a feudal clan under the Tokugawa Shogunate, claimed the "Matsumae clan territory" around the castle it built for its headquarters at the tip of the Woshima peninsula in the southwest Hokkaido and divided part of the Ainu territory on the island and the southern Kuriles into a number of "basho" or districts as fiefs for its vassals (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, pp. 102-103). The result was a division of the Ainu territory roughly into two sections, the east territory and the west, with probably either Kamui Cape or Fuoi Cape as boundary (Note 1). At the Kansei period (1789-1800) there existed 43 "basho" in the east Ainu territory and 42 more in the west (ibid., p. 359). Down at the outset of the Japanese administration, that is, immediately before the abolition of the system (1869), the number was 20 in the east and about 25 in the west (ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 145-148). The districts varied considerably in area, their boundaries, it seems, being based on old Ainu observances (ibid., Vol. 2, p. 105). 175
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Within the clan territory no Ainus were allowed to live except those resident hitherto. Nor in the earlier days were any Japanese permitted to inhabit Ainu territory; all they did with the natives was trading of goods once every year at the coast of each "basho". In course of time, though restrictions on Japanese residence continued, there emerged on the coast of each "basho" a trading post, "unjoya", to conduct periodic trading and periodic shore fishing with employment of native labour (ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 105-108). In "basho" with good fishing grounds a census-register was kept at each trading post for the purpose of summoning interior Ainus to compulsory service at the coast and calling out any surplus labour force from other districts under the same contractor. Some Ainus, however, who lived on the upper courses of the larger rivers or in "basho" with poor fishing grounds, were free from the service (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 235). Ainus employed at the coast were mainly young and grown-up men, but sometimes women and even young children were included (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 289). At the close of the "basho" period (1854-1868) Ainus responsible for supporting a family were exempted from shore service; in absence of such in a family some one in his place was chosen for exemption (ibid., p. 366). The "basho" system was abolished in 1869 by the Japanese Government shortly after the establishment of the colonial government for development of Ezo Island. The system was temporarily replaced in some areas by direct government control and in others, including Tokapchi, by the new system of "ryōba-mochi" (fishery holding) 175
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611 valley. The only woman of her *huchi ikiru* in her husband's *kotan* has been
602 her mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter, Hatu.

Teki became intimate with her after this woman came to marry in the *kotan*. Since then, Teki has been assisted by Hatu in childbirth and illness and has counseled with her in such private matters as would be secret to other persons SUGIURA, 1951, p. 206.

582 22. Intermarriage and "basho" or district system.—On the evidence of an
631 old document from a trading post, TAKAKURA points out a custom among the Ainu formerly of aversion against marriages between people of different "basho" or districts (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 336; for "basho" see Note 6).

The area occupied by the four river groups of Shipet, Otopuke, Satnai and Tushipet living on the main and tributary waters of the Tokapchi river system and walled on three sides by the great divide of Hokkaido and its branches, constituted the Tokapchi "Basho". Among the Ainu on the upper Tokapchi, the Satnai and the Otopuke at least, as described in the text, there seems to have been a strong tendency to intermarriage within the area, i.e. the Tokapchi Basho, which appears to be in agreement with TAKAKURA's account. It is questionable, however, whether or not the sphere of intermarriage always corresponded in extent with the "basho" as in the case of Tokapchi. It is not known on what basis and in what manner the demarcating line of a "basho" was drawn; but it is informed that "it seems to have been based on the boundary of the headman's sphere of influence, that is, the boundary of the hunting and fishing grounds of the "ujizoku" (clan) or "buzoku" tribe concerned" (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 105).

614 HABARA 1939, p. 131, TAKAKURA (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, p.
582 55 and NATORI 1945, p. 123) have come to one and the same conclusion that the Ainu formerly practised endogamy within the group of patrilineal kinsfolk. It is called "ujizoku" (clan) by HABARA (1939, p. 131) as well as TAKAKURA (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, pp. 55 and 57); however, the Ainu term for it is unknown. HABARA gives no definition of his term "ujizoku", stating merely that it is divided into one to several sections each belonging to a *kotan* HABARA, 1939, p. 209. TAKAKURA's definition of the "ujizoku" (clan) is given in the following statement: "the clan the member of which believe themselves to have branched from a common male ancestor, *ekashimoto*, have a common family mark, *itokpa*, and a cult of a common principal deity, *pase-ankumi*" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, p. 57). In this description, the relationship of the 'clan' with the territorial group remains unexplained; however, it is suggested in his statement quoted in Note 17. There he points out that the 'clan' seems to have been the basis on which the sphere of intermarriage among the Ainu was determined (ibid., p. 57). NATORI makes another